

Kleptocracy/Corruption: The Cause for Chaos in Kazakhstan

Please find the following news links regarding the crisis in Kazakhstan. We are seeking support from Congress to encourage political and economic reform by President Tokayev that was established during the corrupt regime of the former President, Nursultan Nazarbayev. This recent situation warrants the invoking of Magnitsky Sanctions by the Biden Administration on the now-deposed former President Nazarbayev, his family, and his colleagues.

Please feel free to reach out to us regarding this situation. Thank you.

Reuters: Former Kazakh leader's family wealth in spotlight after unrest

<https://www.reuters.com/world/asia-pacific/former-kazakh-leaders-family-wealth-spotlight-after-unrest-2022-01-11/>

The Telegraph: Ministers told to freeze Kazakh assets worth £600m after protests gunned down

<https://www.telegraph.co.uk/business/2022/01/08/ministers-told-freeze-kazakh-assets-worth-600m-protesters-gunned/>

The Telegraph: Kazakh despot's daughter went on London spending spree after moving \$300m out of country

<https://www.telegraph.co.uk/world-news/2022/01/08/kazakh-despots-daughter-went-london-spending-sprees-moving-300m/>

The Financial Times: Nazarbayev and the power struggle over Kazakhstan's future

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Factbox: Former Kazakh leader's family wealth in spotlight after unrest

Reuters



Kazakh former President Nursultan Nazarbayev attends a meeting with Russian President Vladimir Putin in Moscow, Russia March 10, 2020. Picture taken March 10, 2020. Sputnik/Alexei Nikolsky/Kremlin via REUTERS

ALMATY, Jan 11 (Reuters) - Kazakh President Kassym-Jomart Tokayev hinted on Tuesday that associates of his predecessor and former patron Nursultan Nazarbayev needed to share their wealth with the public to help alleviate discontent after a week of violent unrest. [read more](#)

Nazarbayev, 81, was the longest-serving leader of any former Soviet state, running Kazakhstan between 1989 and 2019, first as Communist Party boss and then as president.

Several members of his family and former associates are among Kazakhstan's richest people, according to Forbes magazine:

- Dinara Kulibayeva, Nazarbayev's second daughter, and her husband Timur Kulibayev are the majority shareholders of Halyk Bank , , Kazakhstan's biggest lender by assets. Their stake's market value stands at about \$2.8 billion.

- Kairat Boranbayev, the father-in-law of Nazarbayev's late grandson Aisultan, has interests in commercial real estate, owns the McDonald's franchise in Kazakhstan and Belarus, and has interests in many other sectors.

- Bulat Utemuratov, Nazarbayev's former aide, has interests in property development, banking and telecommunications. He has stakes in global commodities giant Glencore and an offshoot of Britain's Haileybury school in Kazakhstan, according to Forbes.

- Though not listed by Forbes, Nazarbayev's eldest daughter Dariga Nazarbayeva and her son Nurali Aliyev own a property portfolio in Britain estimated by The Times newspaper as worth 140 million pounds, including the Baker Street address of the fictional character Sherlock Holmes.

In 2020, they successfully fought an "unexplained wealth order" from Britain's National Crime agency, which had sought to seize three homes worth an estimated \$80 million. Nazarbayeva argued that her wealth was the legitimate product of her success as a businesswoman.

Her ex-husband Rakhat Aliyev, a wealthy former Kazakh government official, died in jail in Austria in 2015 while awaiting trial for murder.

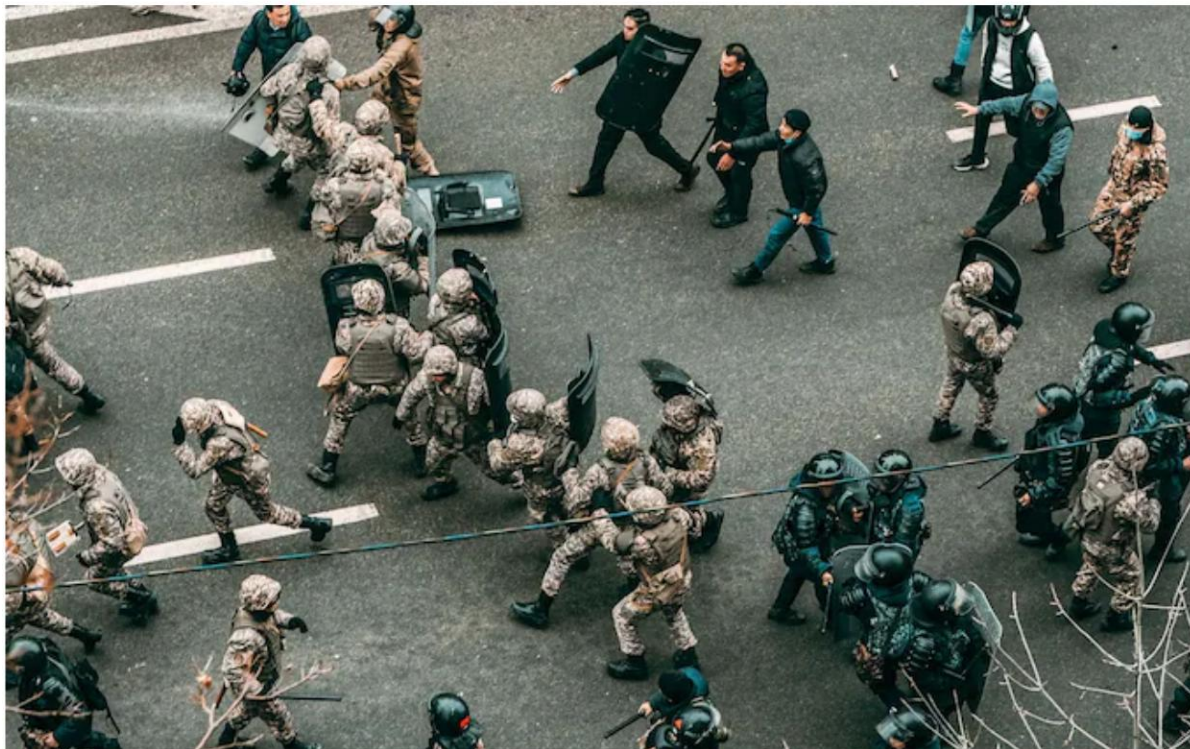
Reporting by Olzhas Auyezov Editing by Peter Graff

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Ministers told to freeze Kazakh assets worth £600m after protesters gunned down

[telegraph.co.uk/business/2022/01/08/ministers-told-freeze-kazakh-assets-worth-600m-protesters-gunned](https://www.telegraph.co.uk/business/2022/01/08/ministers-told-freeze-kazakh-assets-worth-600m-protesters-gunned)

By Matt Oliver



Ministers have been urged to freeze more than £600m of UK assets owned by Kazakhstan's ruling elites after the country's government opened fire on protesters in the streets.

Amid violent unrest over surging energy prices and corruption, Kazakh president Kassym-Jomart Tokayev told soldiers to "open fire with lethal force".

The brutal crackdown has prompted calls for the Government to consider sanctions on properties and other wealth held in the UK by the regime's top figures and their allies.

Sprawling mansions in central London and Surrey are among the properties owned by the Kazakh elite. Assets worth £370m are owned by the family of former president Nursultan Nazarbayev, according to Transparency International.

Tom Tugendhat, the Tory MP who chairs the Foreign Affairs Committee, said the Government should consider sanctioning such assets.

"Those who violate the human rights of their citizens should not be able to enjoy the privilege of holding wealth in the UK," he said. "We need to be clear with the Kazakh elites that their actions will be scrutinised and their assets are in jeopardy."

Tory MP Andrew Murrison, a former foreign minister, also called for ministers to be “far more robust” in their defence of pro-democracy forces in the country.

Properties amassed by Kazakh elites include a mansion on “billionaire’s row” in Hampstead, north London, owned by Dariga Nazarbayeva, a senior politician and daughter of Nazarbayev, and Nurali Aliyev, her son.

Meanwhile, Timur Kulibayev, a powerful gas oligarch who is married to another of Nazarbayev’s daughters, owns a sprawling mansion in Surrey. It is built on the site of Sunningwell Park, near Windsor Castle, that was bought from Prince Andrew for £15m.

Duncan Hames, director of policy at Transparency International UK, said the true British property portfolio of Kazakh figures was likely to exceed £600m because some were concealed by complicated ownership structures.

Liz Truss, the Foreign Secretary, has condemned violence in Kazakhstan but stopped short of promising action.

Professor John Heathershaw, an expert in central Asia politics at the University of Exeter, said: “The test for the British government is ... whether it's willing to bring sanctions against members of the elite who may still have some influence in a country which regards us as an ally and where we are one of the top five trading partners.”

Kazakh despot's daughter went on London spending spree after moving \$300m out of country

[telegraph.co.uk/world-news/2022/01/08/kazakh-despots-daughter-went-london-spending-spree-moving-300m](https://www.telegraph.co.uk/world-news/2022/01/08/kazakh-despots-daughter-went-london-spending-spree-moving-300m)

By Patrick Sawyer,



The daughter of the former president of strife-torn Kazakhstan went on a spending spree in London after moving \$300 million of her personal wealth out of the country.

Aliya Nazarbayeva instructed two professional financial advisers to buy palatial homes, a private bank and a luxury jet after transferring the money into a complex web of offshore trusts and companies stretching from Liechtenstein to the British Virgin Islands.

Her purchases included a \$25m Challenger Bombardier private jet, an £8.75m house in Highgate, north London - meant to help her obtain British residency - and instructing her team to buy a \$14m of property in Dubai, including a villa in the man made Palm Jumeirah island.

Details of the 2006 spending spree, revealed for the first time on Saturday, are likely to raise eyebrows in Kazakhstan, which has been hit by violent protests aimed at the country's increasingly maligned elite.



Aliya is the youngest daughter of Nursultan Nazarbayev, who was Kazakhstan's president for 28 years until 2019, when he took a backseat but controversially retained much of his power.

While he led the country during and after its Soviet years, a small minority amassed enormous wealth while many ordinary Kazaks struggled to get by.

He dramatically quit as head of the Kazakh Security Council on Jan 5 and was reportedly preparing to leave the country. Authorities on Saturday insisted Mr Nazarbayev was in the capital, named Nur-Sultan in his honour.

It was earlier rumoured that Ms Nazarbayeva was seeking to travel to Dubai with her father as he tries to flee the upheaval, and that she may hope to use London as a secure base.



Aliya Nazarbayev pictured after her marriage to Aidar Akayev in 1998, alongside her father and former president of Kazakhstan, Nursultan Nazarbayev (left) Credit: EPA/RTR

Her spending spree in London, described by one expert as “staggering”, only came to light when she fell out with the two financial advisers, accusing them of dishonesty, misappropriation of funds, conspiracy to defraud, breaches of fiduciary duty and unjust enrichment.

Ms Nazarbayeva, 41, sued the pair in the High Court in London for £165 million before settling the case in a confidential agreement. Details of the 2016 case have only just emerged.

Until now Ms Nazarbayeva - whose eldest sister Dariga owns £80m of property in London - was better known for modelling designer jewellery by Damiani, promoting her own couture clothes brand and owning a high-end beauty spa in Almaty, Kazakhstan’s largest city, as well as chairing a construction company.

On her Instagram account she frequently posts photos of herself with her father, who until his fall from power cultivated the image of “father of the nation”.



Aliya Nazarbayeva posts a number of photos of her lavish lifestyle on Instagram

The Nazarbayev family have long established financial links with the UK. The Kazakh oligarch paid Prince Andrew £3 million more than the asking price for his marital home of Sunninghill Park in 2007.

Ms Nazarbayeva claimed she transferred \$312m of her personal wealth out of the country after advisers told her it would be “dangerous” to keep her fortune there and that she should “hide” and “disguise” it in a network of offshore foundations and trusts, according to legal documents seen by The Telegraph.

Documents lodged with the High Court include claims that Malik Ishmuratov, a Kazakh wealth manager, told her “on many occasions that Ms Nazarbayeva was a politically exposed person (PEP)” and that it was “dangerous for her to keep her assets in Kazakhstan”.

In 2006, Ms Nazarbayeva “confided” to Mr Ishmuratov that she had “sold some shareholdings in Kazakh companies, receiving approximately \$325,000,000”.

Mr Ishmuratov went on to introduce Ms Nazarbayev to Denis Korotkov-Koganovich, a Kazakh wealth manager based in London.



Ms Nazarbayeva claimed she transferred \$312m of her personal wealth out of Kazakhstan after advisers told her it would be 'dangerous' to keep her fortune there

In 2008, according to court documents, Mr Ishmuratov advised Ms Nazarbayeva to set up the Alsarah Foundation, in Liechtenstein, “through which her funds were held and would protect and disguise her interest”.

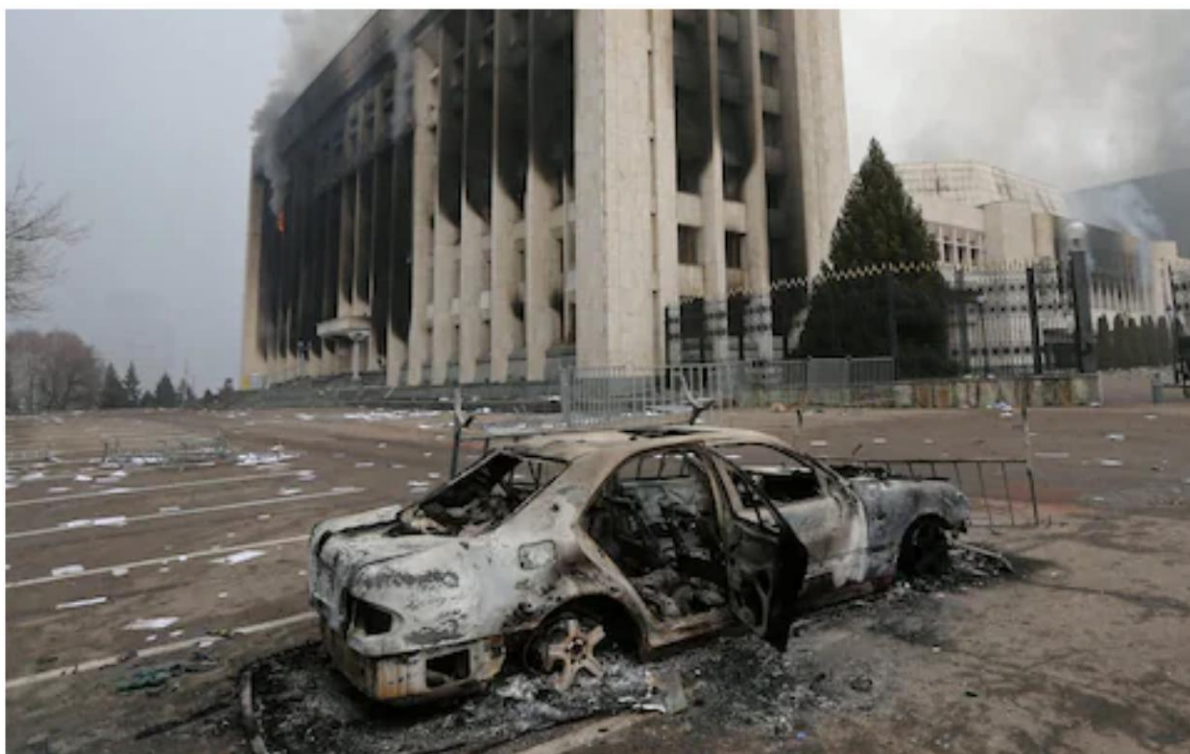
By June 2008, Ms Nazarbayeva “agreed orally” with Mr Ishmuratov to entrust an initial \$150,000,000 capital to him and Mr Korotkov-Koganovich, transferring the cash to Marstock Ltd, a company the wealth managers had registered in the British Virgin Islands.

This was the first of several large transfers from Ms Nazarbayev to the pair, eventually totalling \$312m.

Ms Nazarbayev claimed that Mr Ishmuratov advised her that as a politically exposed person she wouldn't be able to open a bank account and to get around the problem should simply buy a bank instead.

Allegedly on his recommendation, Ms Nazarbayeva directed Mr Ishmuratov to invest \$108m in CBH Bank, an exclusive Swiss private bank, in return for a 51 per cent shareholding.

Her cash was also put into bonds, investment funds - including a London-based wine fund boasting valuable 18th and 19th century cognacs - and an Essex-based loans company aimed at borrowers with poor credit records.



A burnt out car is seen in front of the mayor's office building, which was set alight during the protests
Credit: Pavel Mikheyev /REUTERS

But, when Ms Nazarbayeva's relationship with Mr Ishmuratov and Mr Korotkov-Koganovich broke down, apparently under pressure from her father, she lodged a £165m [\$233m] claim against them in the London High Court in March 2016.

She claimed that the two advisers had not followed her wishes and had allegedly profited over-and-above their 25 per cent profit agreement, as well as investing her money in transactions she had rejected, including a luxury development in the Bishop's Avenue "billionaire's row" in Hampstead.

She also accused them of misappropriating 75million Swiss francs, over half the money meant to buy the Swiss bank.

The pair denied the claims and maintained they had acted at all times in her financial interests.

Ms Nazarbayeva sought an injunction stopping any further dealings with her assets and seeking payment of damages and compensation, with interest. The claim was subsequently settled in a confidential agreement.



Kazakhs stand in line to withdraw cash from a bank in Nur-Sultan in the wake of mass protests Credit: RADMIR FAHRUTDINOV /EPA-EFE/Shutterstock

While there is no suggestion that Ms Nazarbayeva's money was acquired unlawfully, Kazakhstan commentators say the revelations raise questions about the way her wealth was moved out of the country.

Tom Mayne, a visiting fellow at Chatham House and research fellow at Exeter University with detailed knowledge of Kazakhstan, said: "This raises many questions as to Aliya Nazarbayeva's business dealings in Kazakhstan. The amount of money is staggering.

"This case shows how the UK is often used as a safe haven for this kind of money. People who have taken to the streets in Kazakhstan look around and see the family of Nazarbayev have multi-million pound houses and millions to invest in what they want."

Ms Nazarbayeva did not respond to a request for comment.

A spokesman for Mr Ishmuratov and Mr Korotkov-Koganovich said: "The unfounded allegations against Mr Ishmuratov and Mr Korotkov-Koganovitch were denied, the claim defended, and an amicable settlement was reached."

The Big Read Kazakhstan

Nazarbayev and the power struggle over Kazakhstan's future

The protests looked as if they might sweep aside the former dictator and his allies but much of the old order could remain

Tom Burgis YESTERDAY

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The turmoil in Kazakhstan that has cost at least 160 lives and seen Russian troops on the country's streets was a quarter of a century in the making.

On November 21, 1995, James Giffen, an American businessman, began to wire tens of millions of dollars to a Swiss bank account. According to US prosecutors, Giffen was acting as a middleman and had received the millions from Mobil, the US oil company that was negotiating to buy a Kazakh oilfield.

Only five years earlier, Kazakhstan had been part of the Soviet empire, its oil and valuable minerals under communist control. Now Nursultan Nazarbayev, who had risen from a job in a metalworks' furnace to become a top Communist party boss, was in charge. He could sign over rights to crude worth tens of billions of dollars to private businesses with a stroke of his pen. He only needed to be persuaded.

The Swiss payments marked the moment that Kazakhstan's rulers found they could make serious money — fortunes that would help them maintain power through long years of rigged elections and political repression.

When US prosecutors later charged Giffen in 2004 with violating anti-corruption law, they revealed that the true beneficiary of the Swiss bank account, controlled via a web of front companies, was Nazarbayev. According to the indictment, Nazarbayev used \$45,000 of this illicit income to pay fees at the exclusive Swiss school attended by one of his daughters.

Nazarbayev was initially rattled by the discovery of the payments. He asked Dick Cheney, then US vice-president, to help ease his legal troubles, but in vain. In the end, he got lucky. Giffen's lawyers claimed that the CIA had been aware of the payments he was making. Legal wrangling over that claim dragged the case out for years, until prosecutors settled for what they could get. They dropped the corruption charges and Giffen pleaded guilty to tax offences, paying a modest fine.

Nazarbayev's luck held until last month. For 29 years as president, then two more as the power behind his chosen successor Kassym-Jomart Tokayev, he built what Tom Mayne, a leading Kazakhstan expert based at the University of Exeter, describes as "one of the strongest examples of a modern kleptocracy".



Former president Nursultan Nazarbayev and his wife Sara attend the opening of a monument to the Kazakh people in Astana in 2008. Former regime insiders, dissidents, experts and businesspeople say Nazarbayev came to bestride the entire economy during his 29 years in office © Pavel Mikheev/Reuters

Dissidents, experts and businesspeople say Nazarbayev himself came to bestride the resource-rich economy, while former regime insiders have accused him of holding interests in everything from aluminium to banking.

KPMG has calculated that 162 people — or 0.001 per cent of the 19m population — own 55 per cent of Kazakhstan's wealth. Many of those are connected to the president by blood or business dealings.

Nazarbayev has become a symbol of a certain kind of post-Soviet regime which ruthlessly stifles dissent at home while the ruling clique has been able to shift billions abroad and retain the world's finest lawyers and lobbyists to craft a veneer of legitimacy. In 2019, the capital city was renamed Nur-Sultan in his honour.

But his own place in that system is now under threat. A jump in the regulated fuel price triggered nationwide protests at the start of January that soon became demands for broader political and social change; many of the demonstrators shouted "Old man out!", in reference to the 81-year-old autocrat. They were met with violence from the authorities. An official tally briefly made public said 162 people have died, a total activists say is a major underestimate.

Nazarbayev has given up his influential position as head of the country's security council. One close aide has been arrested. There have been conflicting news reports suggesting that the position of one of Nazarbayev's relatives at a security agency is in doubt. Another has been implicated in the unrest. His spokesperson has denied reports that he has fled the country.

President Vladimir Putin claimed that the risk of a new "colour" revolution in Russia's largest satellite state necessitated the deployment of "peacekeepers" to defend the status quo, who are now expected to leave next week.

But after initial speculation that his regime would be swept aside by the events, the real impact on Nazarbayev and his allies is now looking less clear-cut. The leaderless protests have showed little sign of turning into anything so transformative as a "colour" revolution. Instead, the struggle that will set Kazakhstan's course is within the regime itself.



An armed police officer detains two protesters after clashes in Almaty last week © Vasily Krestyaninov/AP

Internal power struggles

The post-Soviet country that Nazarbayev took charge of enjoyed vast mineral reserves. Kazakhstan is the world's largest producer of uranium, producing at least 40 per cent of the global supply, and has significant deposits of copper, and zinc. The \$170bn economy also has the 12th largest oil reserves in the world — just behind the US.

With rare exceptions, such as the Mobil scandal, few firm details of Nazarbayev's financial affairs have come to light.

That is perhaps unsurprising when, as a due diligence exercise on Kazakhstan for the Swedish telecoms company Tele2 discovered, its rulers "use trusted representatives to hold their assets". A recent report by Chatham House described how one of Nazarbayev's friends received, free of charge, an interest in the copper industry worth £135m.

Some of the secrets about the inner workings of the Kazakh economy that have spilled into the open have come from internal power struggles. The most spectacular involved Rakhat Aliyev. A trained surgeon with a maniacal giggle, Aliyev was known as Sugar, after one of the industries he seized for himself following his marriage to Nazarbayev's eldest daughter, Dariga.

After falling out with Nazarbayev, he was banished to Austria, where he would end up dead in a prison cell, where he was awaiting trial on murder charges, with a noose around his neck. But before that, he provided a detailed description of the business empire his father-in-law presided over. He gave an interview in which he alleged Nazarbayev “routinely” took illicit commissions on business deals, held hidden stakes in the mining and oil industries, and maintained “a network of offshore bank accounts”.



A worker at the Bolashak processing plant on the coast near the Kashagan offshore oilfield in the Caspian Sea, western Kazakhstan
© Shamil Zhumatov/Reuters

Nazarbayev did not respond to a request for comment sent to his spokesman for this article.

Another fallen baron of the regime to accuse Nazarbayev of corruption is Mukhtar Ablyazov. The diminutive physics graduate, who made his fortune in the capitalist free-for-all of the 1990s, fell out with the dictator and sought sanctuary in the UK in 2009. The Kazakh authorities accused him of looting the bank he owned, BTA, triggering a legal fight in the UK courts. Ablyazov claimed in a 2010 witness statement that Nazarbayev had turned on him because he had refused to give the president a clandestine stake in his bank.

In that statement, Ablyazov, who was himself rebuked for “deviousness” by a UK judge for failing to disclose his own assets, described how Kazakh businessmen sought to hide their ownership offshore, so that “Nazarbayev and his coterie of kleptocrats cannot simply seize them”. Ablyazov added: “He has now moved up from petty strong-arming of individuals, and instead wants to own and control the whole Kazakhstan economy.”

Ablyazov has become a prominent public critic of Nazarbayev. “He has an absolute monopoly on power, which has led to a monopoly in the economy. He essentially ate the entire economy of the country,” Ablyazov told the FT last week. “That’s why there was a single political slogan across the country in the recent protests. They didn’t ask for pasta, they didn’t ask for salary, they wanted the Nazarbayev regime out.”

One of Nazarbayev’s constant preoccupations appears to have been how to share the opportunities of Kazakhstan’s vast natural wealth without empowering potential rivals.

One solution was to tolerate the success of people who came from other countries and so could never hope to rule. That, says a former senior Kazakh official who worked with Nazarbayev, may be one reason why Nazarbayev allowed three oligarchs known as “the Trio” to prosper.

They became billionaires after acquiring mining interests in the privatisations Nazarbayev oversaw after the end of communism. But having been born elsewhere in the Soviet Union, it was unlikely they could convert that wealth into political careers.

During his time in power, members of Nazarbayev’s family have also become extremely wealthy. According to Forbes, Nazarbayev’s middle daughter Dinara and her husband Timur Kulibayev have each amassed a fortune of \$3bn. They own Kazakhstan’s biggest bank, Halyk Bank. Kulibayev has become an extremely influential figure in the country’s energy industry. Since 2011, he has also sat on the board of Gazprom, the Russian state gas group.



Dinara Kulibayeva, daughter of Kazakhstan's former president Nursultan Nazarbayev, casts her ballot during a presidential election at a polling station in Astana, Kazakhstan, in 2011. She and her husband Timur, left, have each amassed a fortune of \$3bn © Nikita Bassov/AP

Periodic protests

Kulibayev was among the targets of political anger a decade ago during a previous explosion of protests against the regime.

In 2011, oil workers went on strike demanding better pay and conditions and criticising corruption. At Zhanaozen, a rugged town on the weather-blasted steppe, a few hundred maintained a vigil for months until the regime's security forces opened fire on them. A dozen died.

To extract confessions for use in show trials at which the strikers themselves would be blamed for the unrest, many more were tortured. One woman, who continued to resist after her hair was ripped out, broke when her interrogators threatened to rape her teenage daughter, witnesses say. According to testimony gathered by Human Rights Watch, those forced to squat in freezing water included a grandfather who received a beating so savage that he died four days later.

Kulibayev at the time was running the country's sovereign wealth fund, whose assets included the state oil company where the strikers worked. Farrer & Co, a UK law firm Kulibayev retained, told the FT in 2019 that he "did not support or sanction the excessive use of force against the protesters". He had, however, become one of the focal points of the protests after he was reported to have made disparaging comments about strikers. In the aftermath of the bloodshed, Nazarbayev removed his son-in-law as head of the sovereign wealth fund.

Ten years on from the massacre, Zhanaozen was the first place to rise up on January 2 against an overnight doubling of domestic gas prices. As the protests spread around the country over the past 10 days, they focused increasingly on Nazarbayev. In one town, they tore down a statue of the former president. In Almaty, the country's biggest city, protesters set fire to the presidential residence.

Nazarbayev has never permitted free elections. In 2015, the last time he stood, the official result gave him 97 per cent of the votes for president. As in Soviet times, for Kazakhs wishing to express their will, the absence of political routes has left only the street. Kazakhs who have witnessed this month's protests say criminal groups have injected an element of violence. That has granted Tokayev, appointed as a seemingly puppet president by Nazarbayev in 2019, the pretext to crack down and summon Russian troops to shore up his rule.



Kazakhstan's president Kassym-Jomart Tokayev speaks to a man who was injured during recent civil unrest at a hospital in Almaty © Kazakhstan's Presidential Press Service via AP

If Tokayev now follows the playbook used recently by Xi Jinping in China or Mohammed bin Salman in Saudi Arabia, those regarded as Nazarbayev's allies can expect a purge dressed up as an anti-corruption campaign. But that would require him to have gained unrivalled authority, and it is far from clear that he has done so.

There has been no mass round-up of Nazarbayev's people. The most dramatic defenestration of a Nazarbayev loyalist so far has been the removal of Karim Massimov as head of the KNB, the renamed but still feared successor to the KGB. He has been arrested on suspicion of treason. Massimov twice served as Nazarbayev's prime minister and was described in a leaked 2010 [US diplomatic cable](#) as one of the four "most powerful gatekeepers" to the leader.

But Kazakh-watchers regard him as lacking an independent power base beyond the favour of Nazarbayev, rendering him more vulnerable than other senior regime figures and family members.

"The Nazarbayev grouping is very diverse and very broad — some of them will cut deals with Tokayev to stay inside the tent, and others may be arrested," says Simon Glancy, managing partner at Strategic Solutions, an Almaty-based consultancy.



Riot police detain an opposition supporter during a rally in Almaty in 2011, when oil workers also went on strike demanding better pay and conditions © Anatoly Ustinenko/AFP via Getty Images

Among the secrets Nazarbayev's doomed son-in-law Aliyev revealed was what he said was a psychological assessment of the dictator produced by the spies at the KNB. "Those who agree with and accept his opinions and stick to the rules are in 'his' group," the purported assessment went. "Anyone who does not accept his opinion is one of the 'others' and thus an enemy." Massimov has discovered how quickly insiders can become outsiders. Among the main questions now is whether any of the oligarchs who reign over Kazakhstan's economy could suffer similar fates.

The Kazakh authorities have routinely used foreign commercial courts to target those expelled from the ruler's court, accusing them of the kind of corruption that the regime itself presides over. If the government seeks to distance itself from the old order by airing some of its secrets, that could embarrass some of the political consultants, lawyers, lobbyists, private spies and PR specialists who have profited in the past from Kazakhstan's lavish spending on their services.

So successful has Nazarbayev's regime been at hollowing out civil society and hounding his enemies abroad that the protests have thrown up no leaders of national stature. As a result, says a former intelligence officer in the region, the likely upshot is a "redistribution" of wealth among the ruling few. The ex-spy and others who know the regime believe that, even if some of the chief beneficiaries change, the system Nazarbayev spent a generation building looks likely to endure after he is gone.

Additional reporting by Nastassia Astrasheuskaya in Moscow

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The Coalition of Civil Society of Kazakhstan	1/14/2022	Casey Kustin, Congressman Ted Deutch	Email
The Coalition of Civil Society of Kazakhstan	1/14/2022	Austin Johnson, Congresswoman Maria Elvira Salazar	Email
The Coalition of Civil Society of Kazakhstan	1/14/2022	Evan Schuler, Congressman Brian Fitzpatrick	Email
The Coalition of Civil Society of Kazakhstan	1/14/2022	Chandler Smith, Congressman Vicente Gonzalez	Email
The Coalition of Civil Society of Kazakhstan	1/14/2022	Jay Kronzer, Congressman Mark Green	Email
The Coalition of Civil Society of Kazakhstan	1/14/2022	Robert Zarate, Senator Bill Hagerty	Email

The Coalition of Civil Society of Kazakhstan	1/14/2022 Adam Telle, Senator Bill Hagerty	Email
The Coalition of Civil Society of Kazakhstan	1/14/2022 Emma Norvell, Congresswoman Chrissy Houlahan	Email
The Coalition of Civil Society of Kazakhstan	1/14/2022 Jennifer Haynes, Congressman Darrell Issa	Email
The Coalition of Civil Society of Kazakhstan	1/14/2022 Michael Martin, Congressman Ronny Jackson	Email
The Coalition of Civil Society of Kazakhstan	1/14/2022 Sophie Jones, Congressman Sara Jacobs	Email
The Coalition of Civil Society of Kazakhstan	1/14/2022 Brandon Mendoza, Congresswoman Sara Jacobs	Email
The Coalition of Civil Society of Kazakhstan	1/14/2022 Danuta Pereira, Senator Ron Johnson	Email
The Coalition of Civil Society of Kazakhstan	1/14/2022 Lydia Westlake, Senator Ron Johnson	Email
The Coalition of Civil Society of Kazakhstan	1/14/2022 Nicole Porreca, Senator Tim Kaine	Email
The Coalition of Civil Society of Kazakhstan	1/14/2022 Nick Barbash, Senator Tim Kaine	Email
The Coalition of Civil Society of Kazakhstan	1/14/2022 Natasha Silva, Congressman William Keating	Email
The Coalition of Civil Society of Kazakhstan	1/14/2022 Hillary Caron, Congressman Andy Kim	Email
The Coalition of Civil Society of Kazakhstan	1/14/2022 Alex Cisneros, Congresswoman Young Kim	Email
The Coalition of Civil Society of Kazakhstan	1/14/2022 Michael Mansour, Congressman Adam Kinzinger	Email
The Coalition of Civil Society of Kazakhstan	1/14/2022 Sebastian Deluca, Congressman Adam Kinzinger	Email
The Coalition of Civil Society of Kazakhstan	1/14/2022 Catherine Rowland, Congressman Andy Levin	Email
The Coalition of Civil Society of Kazakhstan	1/14/2022 Corey Jacobson, Congressman Ted Lieu	Email
The Coalition of Civil Society of Kazakhstan	1/14/2022 Philip McDaniel, Congressman Tom Malinowski	Email
The Coalition of Civil Society of Kazakhstan	1/14/2022 Alex Bolton, Congresswoman Nicole Malliotakis	Email
The Coalition of Civil Society of Kazakhstan	1/14/2022 Sean Lerner, Congresswoman Nicole Malliotakis	Email
The Coalition of Civil Society of Kazakhstan	1/14/2022 Jayme Holliday, Congresswoman Kathy Manning	Email
The Coalition of Civil Society of Kazakhstan	1/14/2022 Sabrina Khan, Senator Edward Markey	Email
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The Coalition of Civil Society of Kazakhstan	1/14/2022 Sarah Arkin, Senator Bob Menendez	Email
The Coalition of Civil Society of Kazakhstan	1/14/2022 Damian Murphy, Senator Menendez	Email
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The Coalition of Civil Society of Kazakhstan	1/14/2022 Caroline Kuritzkes, Senator Jeff Merkley	Email
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The Coalition of Civil Society of Kazakhstan	1/14/2022	John Maniscalco, Senator Rand Paul	Email
The Coalition of Civil Society of Kazakhstan	1/14/2022	Patrick Schilling, Congressman Scott Perry	Email
The Coalition of Civil Society of Kazakhstan	1/14/2022	Michael Horder, Congressman August Pfluger	Email
The Coalition of Civil Society of Kazakhstan	1/14/2022	John Byers, Congressman August Pfluger	Email
The Coalition of Civil Society of Kazakhstan	1/14/2022	Tim Bertocci, Congressman Dean Phillips	Email
The Coalition of Civil Society of Kazakhstan	1/14/2022	Sarah Peery, Senator Rob Portman	Email
The Coalition of Civil Society of Kazakhstan	1/14/2022	Wayne Jones, Senator Rob Portman	Email
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The Coalition of Civil Society of Kazakhstan	1/14/2022	Alex Moree, Senator Marco Rubio	Email
The Coalition of Civil Society of Kazakhstan	1/14/2022	Bethany Poulos, Senator Marco Rubio	Email
The Coalition of Civil Society of Kazakhstan	1/14/2022	Arun Revana, Senator Brian Schatz	Email
The Coalition of Civil Society of Kazakhstan	1/14/2022	Will Rogers, Senator Brian Schatz	Email
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The Coalition of Civil Society of Kazakhstan	1/14/2022	Ariel Marshall, Senator Jeanne Shaheen	Email
The Coalition of Civil Society of Kazakhstan	1/14/2022	Daisy Bledsoe-Herring, Senator Jeanne Shaheen	Email
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The Coalition of Civil Society of Kazakhstan	1/14/2022	Alexander Brockwehl, Congressman Albio Sires	Email
The Coalition of Civil Society of Kazakhstan	1/14/2022	Clare Plassche, Congressman Albio Sires	Email
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The Coalition of Civil Society of Kazakhstan	1/14/2022	Samuel Wojcicki, Congresswoman Abigail Spanberger	Email
The Coalition of Civil Society of Kazakhstan	1/14/2022	Twinkle Patel, Congressman Greg Steube	Email
The Coalition of Civil Society of Kazakhstan	1/14/2022	Alex Blair, Congressman Greg Steube	Email
The Coalition of Civil Society of Kazakhstan	1/14/2022	Nick Stewart, Congresswoman Claudia Tenney	Email
The Coalition of Civil Society of Kazakhstan	1/14/2022	Joel Cohen, Congresswoman Dina Titus	Email

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The Coalition of Civil Society of Kazakhstan	1/14/2022 Janice Helwig, Helsinki Commission	Email
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The Coalition of Civil Society of Kazakhstan	1/14/2022 Svetlana Shkolnikova, Tom Lantos Commission	Email
The Coalition of Civil Society of Kazakhstan	1/14/2022 Kimberly Stanton, Tom Lantos Commission	Email